BULLETIN OF

Friends Historical Association

Vol. 37 Autumn Number, 1948 No. 2

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THE FAITH AND THEOLOGY OF ROBERT BARCLAY

By Gerardina L. van Dalfsen*

I. Youth, Conversion and Temperament

WHEN George Fox set foot on Scottish ground, he had the feeling of "infinite sparks of light"[1] sparkling about him, and he foresaw the coming dreadful persecutions, but also the living power of faith which would be manifested in the country. He had no idea then that Scotland would give him a friend and co-worker and also furnish a first-class theologian to the not particularly theological sect of Quakerism.

The spiritual preaching of the Quakers clashed in Scotland against the most fundamental and unyielding Calvinism that can possibly be imagined. And yet a good ground for the preaching of Quakerism had been prepared in scattered individuals as well as in groups meeting together. One of the searchers for a true community of self-sacrificing and patiently suffering Christians was Colonel David Barclay,[2] a valiant nobleman and an independ-

* Dr. Gerardina L. van Dalfsen is minister of the Remonstrant Church at Doësburg, Netherlands. This essay is part of a larger study of Robert Barclay prepared at Pendle Hill last spring.

[1] Letter from George Fox to Robert Barclay, dated Swarthmore 10 mo. 16th, 1675, in *Reliquiae Barclaianae. Correspondence of Colonel David Barclay and Robert Barclay* . . . (London, 1870), p. iii.

[2] Alexander Jaffray, *Diary of Alexander Jaffray . . . with Memoirs of the Rise, Progress, and Persecutions of the People Called Quakers, in the North of Scotland* . . . by John Barclay (London, 1833), p. 265.

ent thinker, related by marriage to the Stuart dynasty, who, after a very eventful military and parliamentary career, during which he had also been through undeserved persecution, turned away from the things of this world to seek those of the spirit. In 1666 while in prison and under the influence of his fellow-prisoner, John Swinton, David Barclay, at the age of fifty-six, openly joined the Quakers. His eighteen-year-old son, Robert, also joined them a few months later, after having visited his father in prison and then having himself attended a meeting of the Quakers.

Because of his exceptional gifts and many-sided education, Robert Barclay brought with him into the Quaker community, even at this early age, a broad and deep mind, well-trained in theology. Although brought up at home as a strict Calvinist, he studied in Paris, under the tutorship of his Roman Catholic uncle.[3] When he was at home again among the Scottish Presbyterians, Robert Barclay began to criticize their intolerance, as also the intolerance of the Roman Catholic Church, and while studying all the various forms of the Christian faith, he did not then join any particular church and opposed all premature and harsh judgments.[4]

As a Quaker his temperament, character, training and birth made him just the right person to act as connecting link between a cultural theological and social élite on the one hand, and the spontaneous, radical and vital Quakerism on the other. His friendly, well-balanced nature was strengthened in these natural qualities by the peace which continually filled him. But for a few rare exceptions, there never were any great emotions to disturb it, and his inward peace placed him as much at ease in his friendship with the Duke of York, later James II, of whom he made a friend without in the least denying his Quaker principles, as when he was in prison, when he went on quietly with his theological writings, less a captive than those who took him captive.[5] His temperament may be classified as phlegmatic. The following is a good example of his calm temper. In 1683, when Robert Barclay was returning from London with his wife and some friends, after

[3] *Diary of Alexander Jaffray . . . with Memoirs,* pp. 269-291; Robert Barclay, *Universal Love,* in *Truth Triumphant* (London, 1692), p. 678.

[4] Barclay, *Universal Love,* in *Truth Triumphant,* p. 678.

[5] Letter from Princess Elizabeth Palatine to Robert Barclay, dated December 11, 1676, in *Reliquiae Barclaianae,* p. 8.

having left his eldest boy at a boarding school, he and his company were overtaken by robbers. Although one of the company was mortally wounded and another robbed, Barclay gently touched the arm of the robber who had directed his pistol at Barclay's breast and asked him how he came to be so rude. At that his attacker let the pistol suddenly fall out of his hands in great astonishment and did not demand anything more. This was reported by Barclay's grandson on the evidence of Barclay's own wife, who was an eyewitness. She also related that he had been more meditative that morning than at other times, and had expressed the conviction that an unusual trial or task awaited them on the day; at the time it happened his mood was remarkably serene.[6] Comparing his attitude with that of George Fox in similar circumstances, we may say that both were equally courageous but that Fox was more emotional, his being a more passionate temperament.[7]

II. Experience of God's Power and Guidance

When someone with a phlegmatic temperament like that of Barclay is deeply moved and does unexpected and remarkable things, an intense and unusually overpowering religious experience must be at the root of it. In 1672 he startled the citizens of Aberdeen by walking through three of the chief streets in sackcloth and ashes as did the prophets of old. Similar forms of religious witness and even less conventional ones than these were at that time given by other Quaker preachers, but Barclay was the last person from whom one would have expected such expressions and certainly the last person who would have expected it from himself. After it happened, he wrote an article explaining what he had done. In this article, after having given witness about the love of God, which had been spread abroad in his heart and then extended to the inhabitants of Aberdeen, he accused the townspeople of ignoring God's witness in their own hearts:

> Therefore was I commanded of the Lord God, to pass through your Streets covered with *Sack-cloth* and *Ashes,* calling you to REPENTANCE . . . And the *Command* of the *Lord* concerning this thing came unto me that

[6] *Diary of Alexander Jaffray . . . with Memoirs,* pp. 442-443.

[7] George Fox, *Journal* (London, 1694), p. 30. "Alack for thee, poor Creature! what wilt thou do with thy carnal Weapon? It is no more to me, than a Straw."

very *Morning,* as I awakened, and the *Burden* thereof was very *Great;* yea, seemed almost insupportable unto me, (for such a thing, until that very moment, had never entered me before, not in the most remote Consideration.) And some, whom I called to declare to them this thing, can bear witness, how great was the *Agony* of my *Spirit,* how I besought the Lord with *tears,* that this *Cup* might *pass away* from me! Yea, how the *Pillars* of my *Tabernacle,* were *shaken,* and how exceedingly my *bones trembled,* until I freely gave up unto the *Lord's Will.*[8]

Barclay did not afterward regret what he had done because he was at peace with God about it. Those who condemn what he did should remember that the Old Testament prophets did the same things from the same motives. If the heathen town of Nineveh accepted the preaching of Jonah, how could the Calvinistic town of Aberdeen refuse to listen to preaching like Jonah's, recognizing as it did by word and confession the seriousness of sin?

In this way Barclay defended his extraordinary action, and his defense evinces the same equilibrium and the same power to give account of his deeds and thoughts, as do all his other writings. In them there is no evidence of a fanatic or disintegrated mind. He does not however account for one of his motives, namely the psychological one, since he himself is evidently not aware of it. In 1670 he wrote "that where a man's Meat and Provision is laid up for him . . . it is an easie thing, in Self-will to take on a *demure deportment,* or to wear *Hair-cloth,* or go *barefoot,* which by custom becomes *familiar.*"[9] Barclay was evidently thinking of the Roman Catholic forms of asceticism, contrasting them with the Protestant duty of remaining in the world and yet not conforming to it. Did his action in Aberdeen show an unconscious protest against these easy words? From a psychological point of view ought he not, after writing the above words, if he were upright, prove the truth of his words by his deeds, however difficult it was for him to do so? The great difficulty for him was the contrast between the rough, unrefined and emotional character of this form

[8] Barclay, *A Seasonable Warning, and Serious Exhortation to, and Expostulation with the Inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this present Dispensation and Day of God's living Visitation towards them,* in *Truth Triumphant,* pp. 105-108.

[9] Barclay, *Truth Cleared of Calumnies,* in *Truth Triumphant,* p. 27. William C. Braithwaite in *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919), p. 339, quotes this part in connection with the street preaching at Aberdeen but does not go into the psychological reasons.

of preaching, and his own education, as also his more restful, finer, and more meditative character.

Robert Barclay was more in his own element in his pastoral work of the care of souls, as shown in his intercourse with the philosophically gifted, earnestly religious, and sensitive Princess Elizabeth of the Palatinate, one of his own distant relatives, and the worldly abbess of a very small ecclesiastical state with its capital of Herwerden. He visited her on the first and second of his three journeys to the Netherlands and Germany, and went on corresponding with her afterwards. From his letters we see how he entered into her difficulties, both inward and outward, which prevented her from reaching the state of quietness in which alone she was able to hear the voice of God. He points out to her that the richness of her spiritual life and her many-sided responsibilities make it more difficult for her to find true quietness. But even so her difficulties cannot be too great, nor her duties too overpowering, for the Grace of God, if only she is willing to walk in the light she has received.[10] He counsels her not to allow conventions to prevent her from being obedient to that Grace. Barclay does not want to compel her on his own authority to do anything she is not convinced of in her own conscience, but he warns her against being self-deceived. No special revelation is necessary to leave off doing what one knows to be wrong, since knowing it to be wrong is in itself a guidance of God; but more definite guidance than such general insight is necessary before deciding on definite action.[11]

So much for what he wrote in his letters. He lets himself be guided in his correspondence by the Inward Light. He does not write until he feels that God wishes him to do so, out of an unwillingness to do his own will, and out of fear of harming more than helping.[12]

The same desire only to do what God tells him to do is shown in a letter in which Barclay asks Christian Molleson to marry him.[13] In Christian he found a wife who was worthy of him, and with

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[10] Letter from Robert Barclay to Princess Elizabeth, dated Aberdeen Prison, December 24, 1676, in *Reliquiae Barclaianae,* pp. 10-14.

[11] Letter from Robert Barclay to Princess Elizabeth, dated Aberdeen Prison, March 5, 1677, in *Reliquiae Barclaianae,* pp. 15-18.

[12] Letter from Robert Barclay to Princess Elizabeth, dated Rotterdam, Fifth Month 6, 1679, in *Reliquiae Barclaianae,* pp. 33-35.

[13] *Diary of Alexander Jaffray . . . with Memoirs,* pp. 295-296.

her he built up a family where gladness, order, and peace reigned, the children of which, seven in number, passed on the truth for which he had striven and for which he had been persecuted.[14]

Barclay was three times in prison, in 1672, 1676, and 1677. The first time was because he and John Swinton pleaded with the magistrates of Montrose not to imprison William Napier, at whose home a Friends meeting had been held. The authorities sent Barclay to prison, with Napier, Swinton and three other Quakers. In the protest letter which they wrote from their prison, which resulted after a few months in their release, the Quakers say that, "We are, as regards our testimony and for its sake, *well contented, well pleased, well satisfied* to be *here;* our bonds are not grievous to us: glory to the Lord for ever!"[15] Barclay's second and longest imprisonment, which lasted four months, was in the Tolbooth Prison in a small close room, together with other Quakers, where the daylight never penetrated. Here he wrote by the light of a candle and in a happy mood his *Universal Love Considered, And Established upon its Right Foundation.* A third imprisonment, of short duration, might have been avoided by staying out of Scotland after his second journey abroad.

Beside his three imprisonments, Barclay experienced other kinds of persecution, which in Scotland were chiefly brought about by Calvinistic ministers and theological students. The Quaker meetings in which he took part were sometimes severely molested.[16]

III. Love for Fellowmen

Because of Robert Barclay's connections with and admittance to the Court, he was the right person to plead for other prisoners, and to strengthen James II's inclination to tolerance. James began his reign in 1685 by persecuting Cromwell's followers, and in the neighborhood of Barclay's estate, Ury, Calvinists were imprisoned in a barbarous way, leading to the death of some of them. Barclay helped as many of them as he could to escape and to emigrate to the American province of East Jersey, which was bought by twelve Quakers in 1682, and the governorship of which Barclay accepted

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 501.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 311-317.

[16] Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1678), Proposition XI, pp. 263-265.

for life (his successors to be nominated anew every three years) with the right to let himself be represented there by a deputy. East Jersey served as an asylum for persecuted people of every denomination.[17]

In 1688 James proclaimed his Declaration of Indulgence. Seven bishops of the state church who refused to read the declaration were shut up in the Tower. To diminish the general indignation about their imprisonment, James accused them of a desire for persecution even to death. This the bishops denied. Then Robert Barclay visited them in prison with the documents which proved that some Quakers had really died from bad conditions in prison, whither they had been sent by order of these bishops. He told them, however, that he would not use these proofs to get them condemned, as he did not wish to take revenge on persecutors.[18]

The witness given by others about him is in accordance with these facts. Barclay combined a "firm and resolute spirit in the prosecution of duty, was united with great sympathy and compassion towards persons in affliction and distress. They were consoled by his tenderness, assisted by his advice, and occasionally relieved by his bounty."[19] And so it is not to be wondered at that he was "a Man generally *Beloved of all,* both of *great* and *small;* unless it were those that hated him for the *Truth's* sake." . . . "He was all-along a *Man* for *Peace,* and an Enemy to *Strife and Dissension.*"[20] In 1678 he wrote a letter to the ambassadors of different countries who were assembled for the Congress of Nymegen. A separate copy, together with the *Apology,* was given to each ambassador. In this he points to the causes of war in general and the necessity of combatting them at their roots.[21]

His nearest friends testified as follows about Barclay's personal life: "I never saw him in any *peevish, angry, brittle* or *disordered*

[17] Leslie Stephen, "Robert Barclay," *Dictionary of National Biography,* III, pp. 167-170.

[18] *Diary of Alexander Jaffray . . . with Memoirs,* p. 445.

[19] Joseph Gurney Bevan, ed., *A Short Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Barclay* (London, 1802), pp. 74-77.

[20] "Testimony concerning Robert Barclay," by Patrick Livingstone, in *Truth Triumphant,* p. [xlii].

[21] Barclay, *An Epistle of Love and Friendly Advice to the Ambassadors of the Several Princes of Europe,* in *Truth Triumphant,* pp. 706-715.

Temper, since ever I knew him."[22] "I never knew him at any time to be in *Passion* or *Anger.*"[23]

IV. Stillness and Theology

Barclay died after a short illness in 1690 at the age of forty-two, and after having expressed with tears the love he felt for "all faithful brethren in England who keep their integrity to the Truth," of whom he mentions especially "dear George," and ending with the words, "Though I am under a great weight of sickness and weakness as to my body, yet *my peace flows.* And this I know—that whatever exercises may be permitted to come upon me, they shall tend to God's glory and my salvation; and in that I rest."[24]

Barclay's communion with God can usually be typified as "rest in Him," rest which might be preceded by a spoken prayer[25] or a meditation inspired and led by the Spirit of God.[26] But this rest becomes more intense the more the soul is concentrated on God, just as the rays of the sun united in one point are stronger than when spread over a large surface.

> Nothing hinders it more than the fertility and activity of the naturall Spirit in its thoughts and imaginations which must be chained down and as the mind is freely resigned and willing to part with its own thoughts by sinking down into a profound stillness and silence, there is a secret power will be revealed to help the Soul to retain itself and go through this chief work of mortification.[27]

The words which greatly impressed Barclay in the first Quaker meeting which he attended were: "In stillness there is fullness, in fullness there is nothingness, in nothingness there are all things."[28] From the nothingness of stillness comes the word, and coming thence it is mighty; from the same nothingness rises prayer and rising up thence it is heard; in that nothingness the truth shines

[22] "The Testimony of Andrew Jaffray concerning Robert Barclay," in *Truth Triumphant,* p. [xliv].

[23] "Testimony concerning Robert Barclay," by Patrick Livingstone, in *Truth Triumphant,* p. [xlii].

[24] *Diary of Alexander Jaffray . . . with Memoirs,* p. 448.

[25] Barclay, *Quakerism Confirmed,* in *Truth Triumphant,* p. 643.

[26] Barclay, *Apology,* Proposition XI, pp. 255-261.

[27] Letter of Robert Barclay to Princess Elizabeth, dated Edinburgh, September 6, 1676, in *Reliquiae Barclaianae,* p. 5.

[28] *Diary of Alexander Jaffray . . . with Memoirs,* p. 271.

out before the eyes of man, and the direct command of God comes to him; and deep down in his soul he is joined to God and man; he is renewed from out that nothingness.

And man being thus stated, the little seed of Righteousness, which God hath planted *in* his Soul, and Christ hath purchased for him, even the measure of Grace and Life, (which is burthened and crucified by man's natural thoughts and imaginations) receives a place to arise, and becometh a holy birth and geniture *in* man, and is that *Divine air,* in, and by which man's Soul and spirit come to be leavened. And by waiting therein he comes to be accepted in the sight of God, to stand in his presence, hear his voyce, and observe the motions of his Holy Spirit.[29]

And everything in man is sin which does not proceed from this second birth, or from the seed from which the second birth springs; his ploughing and sowing, his preaching and praying, especially these last two.

. . . because so long as a man is thinking and meditating as of himself, he can not be sure, but the devil is influencing him therein, but when he comes wholly to be silent, as the *Pure Light* of God shines in upon him, then he is sure that the devil is shut out, for beyond the imaginations he can not go, which we often find by sensible experience.[30]

This position of Barclay's has been very much misunderstood, both by the generations immediately following him and by Quakers of more modern, idealistic, and monistic trend. The latter assume that the former understood him rightly and blame Barclay for the decline of Quakerism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to them it was his dualism and quietism that caused the retirement of the Society of Friends from action in the world and its lack of clear theological thinking. If everything is evil that natural man does, one cannot do anything any more, but in exceptional cases one feels miraculously moved.

To this objection three things can be answered. Firstly, do modern Friends really understand what Barlcay meant by the natural man? I will not enlarge on this point in this article. I am only pointing to the fact that he means something else than Calvin, and something else than what modern people think of when they hear the word "natural." He who wrestled so seriously with all the thinkers he knew deserves that we wrestle seriously with him and

[29] Barclay, *Apology,* Proposition XI, p. 260.
[30] Barclay, *Apology,* Proposition XI, p. 262.

try to reword what he really meant. And obviously by "natural man" he did not mean "empirical man," man at a certain moment in his life, you and I as we are now or tomorrow or yesterday. *Empirical* man is not only evil, for he is somewhere in the process of rebirth. Secondly, look at Barclay's life and see if dualism and quietism made him retire from action in the world, or prevented him from using his reason in the expression of his faith.

It is true that for a period of a hundred years many Friends lived in the strength of the stillness alone, disapproving of all theology except that of Barclay; but what for him had been a living and vigorous struggle for expression became for them a holy tradition, saving them from struggling on their own account to formulate their spiritual possession. In this they did misunderstand him while they repeated his very words.

Notwithstanding, or even through misunderstanding, something great for Quakerism was achieved. It is true for the individual, as also for a community, that a long time of self-restraint, if it can be borne, increases spiritual tension and depth. One who has a holy fear of speaking, only speaks when he has something to say, and a religious community which out of fear of God's unspeakable Light (which it seeks in quiet concentration and then at once obeys), has long refrained from theological preaching, may develop a vague and confused theology, but never a superficial one, nor one poor in experience, nor a too-intellectual one playing only with dialectical forms. Those hundred years, with their too great rigorism and their retrograded development have in some respects left their mark of spiritual depth in Quakerism, such as is not easily found in other Christian communities. Sometimes a misunderstanding may lead to a blessing, but nevertheless it is a misunderstanding to depise either social action or theology, with the hand on Barclay's *Apology*.

The very fact that Barclay wrote his *Apology* disproves the supposition that he considered all theology "a thinking out of clever distinctions and subtle reasonings."[31] The reasonings of the mind, after having been sacrificed, will be rediscovered and consecrated in the new birth.

No real and living, strong and true theology exists that has not originated in reverent silence and in personal experience of the

[31] Barclay, *Apology*, Proposition XI, paragraph XII.

great reality of God; that has not laboriously wrestled for the expression of the more or less vague and confused faith of the religious community of which one is a member; and that does not point anew above itself to the immediate, Divine and silent Word. The fact that George Fox, who was extremely skeptical of theologians trained in universities, encouraged Barclay's theology, and considered it very important, says a great deal for it. Fox wrote to Barclay:

> And now Robert concerning the things thou speaks of about thy books, I say, it is well that they are sent, and keep [all] within the Rule of the Spirit of life which will lead into all truth, and that all may be stirred up in your Nation to walk in it for they have been a long time asleep.[32]

Barclay's work was of special importance for Quakerism in Scotland, since, whereas the proselytes to Quakerism in England were mostly either those who were outside the church, having turned away from the state church because of having been disheartened by its theological confusion, or those who belonged to one of the even less theological sects, those in Scotland came from Presbyterianism, a much better schooling in religious and theological thought.[33] Such people were accustomed to give theological account of their faith and could not be satisfied by just making a cleft between their old and their new faith.

So the theological discussion developed between Quakerism and the chief line of Reformation thought, and Barclay is the chief although not the only writer on this subject. It is however very typical of Quakerism in general, and of the two first periods of it in particular, that the writer of the preface of Barclay's collected works felt obliged to defend and excuse him for carrying out this very necessary work:

> The *Method* and *Style* of the Book [*Apology*] may be somewhat *Singular*, and like a Scholar; for we make that Sort of *Learning* no part of our *Divine Science*. But that was not to shew himself; but out of his *Tenderness* to *Scholars*, and as far as the *Simplicity* and *Purity* of the Truth would

[32] Letter from George Fox to Robert Barclay, dated Swarthmore, 10 mo. 16, 1675, in *Reliquiae Barclaianae*, p. vii.

[33] Here as elsewhere in this article where facts were given without a specific reference, use was made of W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919), Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), and M. Christabel Cadbury, *Robert Barclay, His Life and Work* (London, 1912).

permit, in *Condescension* to their *Education* and *Way* of *Treating* of those Points herein handled.[34]

Of course Barclay did not write "in condescension" alone. Nobody creates something worth while unless he does it from a sense of inner necessity. But it is also true that even scholars and theologians have a soul that needs to find the way to the Inward Light, and that they may need somebody who speaks and understands their language. The language Barclay spoke is not as obsolete as people who are used to express what they believe in terms of science and philosophy may think. There are still many millions of Christians who use Barclay's kind of language. There are among them those who have returned to it, after having found the language of science and philosophy inadequate to express the depth of their spiritual experience.

DR. JOSIAH CHARLES TRENT has written an article about Benjamin Waterhouse (1754-1846), describing his studies abroad, and it is published in the *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* 1 (1946), 25-40. Benjamin's mother was a Quaker and he went to London in 1775 to complete his medical training under the direction of her cousin, Dr. John Fothergill. While in London, Waterhouse learned of the discovery of smallpox vaccination, and when he returned home to Newport, Rhode Island, in 1782, he was one of the first physicians in America to recommend this method of treatment. The article is illustrated with reproductions of the portraits of Fothergill and Waterhouse painted by Gilbert Stuart, as well as the title pages of two books by Waterhouse. The author of this article, Dr. Trent, of the University of Michigan Hospital, is now engaged in writing a full-length biography of Benjamin Waterhouse.

ELIZABETH H. EMERSON wrote a charming story about the pioneer Rees family in *The Good Crop* (1936) and she has continued the chronicle in her recent book entitled *The Garnered Sheaves* (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1948). It tells in pleasing manner of the happy and normal lives of all the sons and daughters of William and Rebecca Rees, but the story is chiefly concerned with the fifth daughter, Sibyl, whose parents dedicated her at her birth to the Lord in the hope that she might become a woman preacher, like Sibyl Jones for whom she was named. How Sibyl Rees followed the leadings of the Spirit and became a recorded minister, in spite of heavy family responsiblities, is told in a clear and straightforward manner. The author is a Friend and has described accurately Quaker meetings and customs.

[34] Robert Barclay, *Truth Triumphant,* "The Preface to the Reader" (ascribed to William Penn), pp. xxi-xxii.

QUAKER BOTANISTS

By Francis W. Pennell

Continued from Vol. 37 (1948): pp. 3-13

Next we must mention several contributors to the teaching of botany. Priscilla (Bell) Wakefield (1751-1832), who was honored by having her portrait painted by Gainsborough, published in London in 1796 *An Introduction to Botany in a Series of Familiar Letters,* a work with a second edition of 1798 and a French translation in 1801. Dr. William Woodville (1752-1805) published in London from 1790 to 1794 a *Medical Botany* that was so popular as to be issued in two later editions, in 1810 and 1832, both subsequent to the author's death. To his memory the Swiss botanist, DeCandolle, in 1836 dedicated the genus *Woodvillea,* but this has been long included within the great Composite genus, *Erigeron.*

Dr. John Dalton (1766-1844), the distinguished English chemist, as a young man seems to have taken an active interest in botanical collecting, since Britten and Boulger's *Biographical Index of Deceased British and Irish Botanists,* informs us that his herbarium in eleven volumes, comprising plants gathered near Kendal from 1790 to 1793, is preserved at the Manchester Public Library.

Here in Pennsylvania Dr. Caspar Wistar (1761-1818), physician and professor of anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania, was a prominent figure in the intellectual and social life of Philadelphia in the opening nineteenth century. I hardly know his claim to be considered a botanist, but he is included both in John W. Harshberger's *Botanists of Philadelphia and their Work,* (1899), and, more surprisingly, in Britten and Boulger's *Biographical Index.* "In memory of Caspar Wistar, M. D.", Thomas Nuttall named a genus of shrubby vines of the pea family *Wisteria,* this unexpected spelling being repeated in the index of his book and carefully written by him on a label in the herbarium of the Academy of Natural Sciences. Wistar's writings, nearly wholly medical in character, are listed in Joseph Smith's *Catalogue.*

I know not how closely Zaccheus Collins (1764-1831) was connected with our Society, but Doctor Barnhart says that "he

was well known as a Quaker philanthropist."[17] He was an early Secretary of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, and his correspondence is preserved at that institution. As a botanist Collins was critically minded and widely informed, and, although he published nothing, was held in high respect by his contemporaries. Thomas Nuttall, the printer from England who became the outstanding botanist of the Academy's early history, gave Collins' name to the remarkable American genus, *Collinsia,* that includes the "Blue-eyed Mary" of the Mississippi Valley and the "Chinese Houses" of California. Though his judgment was widely solicited, Collins was extremely chary of giving opinions, and his contemporaries despaired of ever receiving further news of any specimens sent him. Thus, Dr. John Torrey, the New York botanist who rapidly became the foremost authority on our flora, wrote to the Reverend Lewis David von Schweinitz in 1821: "I sincerely deplore that [Nuttall's] crytog[amous] specimens have been swallowed by that retentive gulph, Mr. Collins, going into whose cave so many footsteps may be traced & none coming forth! I have among the rest written to Collins more than once, but have never been blessed with an answer." How Collins became involved with the enthusiastic, but eccentric and designing Constantine S. Rafinesque, who was as ultra-rash as Collins was ultra-cautious, and how this foreigner, whom he had befriended, after Collins' death acquired most dubiously his friend's vast herbarium — of all this I have told in my account of Rafinesque presented as a centennial address in his memory at Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky, in 1940.[18] It is a strange story.

Reminiscent of the older botanists in at least one of his works, but mainly a pioneer in a specialized branch of botanical knowledge, was Lewis Weston Dillwyn (1778-1855), an English Friend who "married out" of our Society. His *Synopsis of British Conferva,* a group of seaweeds or Algæ, appeared in 1802, and his ampler work, *British Conferva,* with colored figures and full descriptions, in 1809. Also, conjointly with Dawson Turner, another student of Algæ, he published in 1805 a two-volume *Bot-*

[17] *Bartonia,* 16 (1935), 23.

[18] "The Life and Work of Rafinesque", in *Transylania College Bulletin* 15 (1942), 10-70; the acquistion of the Collins' herbarium is recounted on pages 43-45.

anist's Guide through England and Wales. His *Hortus Collinsonianus,* prepared in 1843, was a summary of the plants introduced and grown by Peter Collinson. For him Sir James Edward Smith named *Dillwynia,* a beautiful Australian genus of the pea family (Fabaceæ).

Joseph Woods (1776-1864) published in various English journals notes of botanical excursions between 1835 and 1857 or later in northern England, in Brittany, in France, in Germany, and in northern Spain. His main work was *"The Tourist's Flora: a Descriptive Catalogue of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of the British Islands, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and the Italian Alps,* published at London in 1850. His name was commemorated by Robert Brown in the well-known fern genus, *Woodsia.*

Turning again to Philadelphia we find a group of remarkable men. Solomon White Conrad (1779-1831), a minister among Friends, was prominent as a bookseller and publisher. Although Germantown was the place both of his birth and death, I associate him especially with southern New Jersey, as Burlington and other places appear so often on the labels of his specimens preserved at the Academy of Natural Sciences. He published several new species from the Philadelphia area, among which was our spring coral-root, *Corallorhiza wisteriana.* Nuttall applied *Conradia* to a brilliant plant of our southeastern states, but unfortunately the name had already been used abroad in honor of some other Conrad.

From Chester County two young Friends went to study medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, where they became close personal friends. Both became physicians, and both were disowned by our Society for military activity. Yet with both there persisted much of the spirit of their early background.

The elder of them, Dr. William Baldwin (1779-1819), came of a family rich in Quaker ministers. He settled as a physician in Wilmington, Delaware, but became consumptive and moved with his family to southern Georgia in 1811, where he collected plants in the coastal territory south of the then international boundary of the St. Mary's River. From 1812 to 1816 he was a surgeon in the United States Navy, and then was botanist to a government

mission in 1817 to the ports and countries of eastern South America. In 1819 he started forth as surgeon on Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, but died before the party had left the Missouri River in the present state of Missouri. His collections, often with the manuscript names that he did not live to publish, are at the Academy of Natural Sciences. His scientific letters were lovingly collected and published in 1843 by his friend Darlington in the book, *Reliquiæ Baldwinianæ*. I have heard it said of Baldwin, that he endeavored, though in vain, to reestablish his membership in the Society of Friends, always maintaining that his part in war had been that of saving lives.

The younger, Dr. William Darlington (1782-1863), settled as a physician in West Chester, where for more than fifty years he was a prominent figure. His practice grew apace, but he gave that up to be a member of the National Congress for most of the years from 1815 to 1823, while from 1830 until his death he was President of the Bank of Chester County. He was actively militant in spirit from the time that he lost membership with Friends, and yet he became the special historian of the early Quaker botanists of Pennsylvania. After publishing the *Reliquiæ Baldwinianæ* in 1843, he similarly assembled the scientific letters of the pioneers of the preceding century, publishing in 1849 the *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall. With Notices of their Botanical Contemporaries*. Darlington was an able botanist himself, and is chiefly remembered for his three floras of Chester County: the *Florula Cestrica* of 1826 that considered the plants of the vicinity of West Chester; the *Flora Cestrica* of 1837 that was a masterly account of the plants of the entire county; and its "Third Edition" of 1853 that covered again the county but was much condensed and popularized. In Darlington's writings there is often a quaintness of expression that is most attractive. His extensive herbarium is preserved at the State Teachers' College at West Chester.[19]

[19] For an account of Darlington by a later Quaker physician of West Chester, see "Dr. William Darlington, Physician and Botanist", by Dr. William T. Sharpless in *Bartonia*, 14 (1932), 1-13. For the composition of his herbarium see "The 'Darlington Herbarium' at West Chester", by Robert B. Gordon in *Bartonia*, 22 (1943), 6-9.

DeCandolle in 1825 named a genus of the Sensitive Plant Family, *Darlingtonia,* but that which has been actually adopted, and conserved as an exception to the law of priority among plant names, is Torrey's *Darlingtonia* given to the bizarre and botanically remarkable pitcher-plant of northern California and Oregon.

Darlington had the happy faculty of securing the interest of a group of botanical observers whose records he reported in his *Flora Cestrica* and whom he associated with himself in the Chester County Cabinet of Natural Science. A number of these were Friends or of Friendly families. Such were William Jackson, who had succeeded his father John Jackson in the care of the family garden and arboretum at London Grove in the southern part of Chester County; Thomas Seal (1785-1875) of Unionville,[20] whose herbarium of plants, gathered locally and also on a trip to California, is partly at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and partly at the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh; David Townsend (1787-1858) of West Chester, whose collections are those Darlington most frequently cites and to whom Sir William Jackson Hooker dedicated *Townsendia* as the name of a remarkably conspicuous genus of Composites from western North America; Joshua Hoopes (1788-1874), schoolteacher at Downingtown and later at West Chester, for whom S. B. Buckley proposed *Hoopesia* for a woody plant of Texas, a name that has had to be relegated to synonymy; Ezra Michener of London Grove and West Grove, soon to be considered; and probably John Marshall, who collected along the Schuylkill River, Samuel Peirce of East Marlborough Township, and James Trimble of Cecil County, Maryland.

The influence of Darlington's *Flora Cestrica* carried a love of the local flora down to younger men and succeeding generations. To it in good part is due the continuing sequence of Quaker cultivators of our science both in Chester and Delaware Counties, Pennsylvania. Many such will claim our attention.

Sufficiently younger than William Darlington to have been one of the first scholars to enter Westtown School in 1799 was Thomas Say (1787-1834). He was a great-grandson of John

[20] For a character portrayal see sketch by Henry Seidel Canby, "The Most Unforgettable Character I Ever Met", *The Reader's Digest,* 38 (1941), 85-87.

Bartram, and so a great-nephew of William Bartram. In 1812 he was one of the group of young men who established a society for the study of natural history under the august name of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. No pioneer student of the science of this country has been more esteemed than he, but his distinction lies in zoology rather than in botany. He was a chief founder of the science of conchology in this country, while his work upon insects earned him the appellation of the "Father of American Entomology." In botany he did no original work, and his sole claim to be included in this enumeration is that, in the lack of any one better qualified, he collected the plant specimens obtained on Long's Expedition in 1823 to the source of St. Peter's River in the present Minnesota. These specimens survive at the Academy of Natural Sciences.

In England, Mary Roberts (1788-1864), said in Britten and Boulger's *Biographical Index* to have been the "Granddaughter of T. Lawson" although one suspects that there must have been another generation or so between them, was a popular writer on natural history, publishing such works as *Plants and Animals of America* (1839) and *Voices from the Woodlands* (1850). Her brother, Cade Roberts (1786-1821), contributed to later editions of Withering's *Systematic Arrangement of British Plants.*

James Backhouse (1794-1869) was a Yorkshire Friend who traveled far in the ministry. From 1831 to 1841 he was in the Southern Hemisphere, visiting Tasmania and Australia, and on his return course tarrying long in South Africa. Incidentally, he was an enthusiastic botanical observer and collector, and he discovered many species new to science. In 1843 appeared in London *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies,* and in 1844 its companion volume, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa.* Both are religious journals of more than five hundred pages apiece, and are remarkable among such literature in their illustrations showing the country traversed and the plants and animals seen, and in having detailed maps prepared by the royal cartographer on which are carefully indicated the routes traversed. Plants were noted throughout the course and evidently specimens and seeds were brought back. In 1845 the English botanists, Hooker and Harvey, named in Backhouse's honor a

new genus of the Myrtle Family that he had found in Queensland, Australia, *Backhousia.*

In Pennsylvania Ezra Michener (1794-1887), a farmer in southern Chester County, was an active member of the Hicksite branch of Friends. He published various religious works, of which his *Retrospect of Early Quakerism* (1860) is probably most significant. As a botanist he was especially interested in Fungi, and on behalf of the Academy of Natural Sciences he selected from the vast Fungus herbarium of Lewis David von Schweinitz a simple reference series that is still being used at that institution. While doing so, he sorted out many duplicate specimens for his own herbarium, and after his death these, along with his own collections of Fungi, passed eventually to the United States Department of Agriculture at Washington, D. C.

In England, Edward Newman (1801-1876), was a particular student of ferns, *A History of British Ferns* by him appearing in London in 1840, and reaching its fourth edition in 1865. From 1841 to 1854 he edited the botanical journal called *The Phytologist.*

Back in Pennsylvania we must next mention the Painter brothers, Minshall (1801-1873) and Jacob (1814-1876). They were men of wide historic and scientific interests, but with full Quaker avoidance of fiction and art. At their home north of Lima, Delaware County, they brought together a remarkable arboretum that still survives.[21] It was the Painter interest in local history that first stimulated Gilbert Cope to become the genealogist of the old Quaker families of southeastern Pennsylvania.[22]

Although having the support of the Painters, it appears that the Delaware County Institute of Science was actually founded in 1833 by Dr. George Smith (1804-1882) and four associates. This was at Sycamore Mills, but in a few years it moved to its

[21] Since they were great-nephews of the wife of Humphry Marshall, one discerns a sequence of arboreta: from John Bartram to Humphry Marshall, on to Minshall and Jacob Painter. We rejoice that by the bequest of the Painters' nephew and heir, John J. Tyler, their arboretum now seems assured of adequate survival, although we regret, since its growth took place wholly under the Painters, that it is to be called the Tyler Arboretum. Its location, with large surrounding woodland that should remain intact for many years to come, offers unrivaled opportunity for the development of a great arboretum and botanical garden.

[22] As I have been told by his son, the late Herman Cope.

present location in the newly established county seat of Media.[23] Dr. Smith included in his *History of Delaware County* (1862) a list of plants of the county; presumably these were those in his own herbarium which is still preserved at the Institute. Dr. Smith was the first President of the Institute, retaining office for forty-nine years until his death. He was an active member of Haverford Meeting (Race Street), long sitting at its head.

Crossing the ocean we note the Irish Botanist, William Henry Harvey (1811-1866). As a young man he was Colonial Treasurer at the Cape of Good Hope from 1835 to 1841, where he collected assiduously and in 1838 published his *Genera of South African Plants.* After this he suffered a "complete physical and mental breakdown," and returned to Ireland. Recovering strength and poise, he obtained a medical degree, became professor of botany in Dublin, and ultimately both professor of botany and keeper of the herbarium at Trinity College. He now devoted his interest to seaweeds, becoming the leading authority thereon and author of a *Manual of British Algæ* in 1841, and of the *Phycologia Brittanica* from 1846 to 1851. For him Hooker gave the name *Harveya* to a plant of his finding in South Africa, a remarkable and conspicuous parasitic member of the Snapdragon-Foxglove family.

Now, we have reached the botanists who were still in the prime of their activity in 1867, the year in which appeared Joseph Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books.* With the loss of its international scanning of the field, it becomes much more difficult to know just who were members of our Religious Society. Some individuals stand out clearly, but only those of the Philadelphia territory can be recognized with any completeness. Our account will henceforth lose in broad perspective.

Near Philadelphia there continued to be a succession of men interested in the local flora. Halliday Jackson (1817-1887), a teacher and farmer in Delaware and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania, left his herbarium to Swarthmore College, whence it has passed to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Joseph Walton (1817-1898), well known for his anecdotal com-

[23] The sign as one approaches Media from the railroad station says that it "was named by Minshall Painter for town in Near East"; but its actual etymology was doubtless the Latin word "media", denoting its location in the *middle* of the county, and not in any way reminiscent of the ancient *land* of Media.

pilations from Friends' literature, *Incidents and Reflections* and *Footprints and Waymarks,* was a keen observer of wild plants. He edited *The Friend,* and I well remember how in my boyhood our mother would assemble us children on First-Day afternoons for readings from that paper. I recall the accounts of field excursions, replete with botanical names of the plants seen, that the editor frequently included. Edward Tatnall (1818-1898), of Wilmington, Delaware, published in 1860 a *Catalogue of the Phænogamous and Filicoid Plants* (i. e. flowering plants and ferns) *of Newcastle County, Delaware.* Charles E. Smith (1820-1900), able executive who became President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, was an ardent botanist, whose many specimens, more than those of any other person, founded the local herbarium of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

Dr. George Martin (1827-1886) deserves especial mention. He was a physician of Delaware and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania, who was so interested in Fungi that he assembled by his own collecting and by acquistion from other students of these lowly plants a vast herbarium. I presume that he meant to devote his years of retirement to their study, but his publications, though of high quality, were few. His herbarium is now at the Academy of Natural Sciences.

Among the relatively few Friends that I can add from Great Britain was Daniel Oliver (1830-1916). He was born at Newcastle in northern England, but from 1858 was associated with the great botanical institution at Kew Gardens, near London. He published in 1864 an *Elementary Botany,* from 1890 to 1895 was editor of *Icones Plantarum* with its careful scientific illustrations of many species, and was also editor of the second volume of the *Flora of Tropical Africa* issued by Kew. His name is commemorated in those of various species of plants.

In our Philadelphia territory Josiah Hoopes (1832-1904) had a nursery at West Chester, Pennsylvania, in which conifers were an especial interest. His herbarium survives at the State Teachers' College in that town. He was distantly related to Thomas Hoopes (1834-1925),[24] also of West Chester, who in 1859 collected near

[24] Thomas Hoopes, later one of the founders of the firm of Hoopes Brothers and Darlington, lost membership with Friends by participation in the Civil War, but retained his interest in Friends' meetings, as has his son, Charles R. Hoopes, my informant.

Pikes Peak, Colorado, seeds of a showy member of the sunflower family (Compositæ); from these were raised by his brother-in-law, Halliday Jackson, plants of a species new to science that Dr. Asa Gray of Harvard University named *Helenium hoopesii*.[25] Benjamin Heritage (1833-1912), of Mickleton, Gloucester County, New Jersey, made a large herbarium of the plants of that vicinity which has passed to George School.

An American botanist, who was singularly beloved as a teacher, was William J. Beal (1833-1924), long associated with the Michigan State College at East Lansing. At a recent meeting of the American Philosophical Society I heard one of his pupils, Liberty Hyde Bailey, speak of this "gentle Quaker", telling how his influence had passed on to the present through a succession of able teachers and investigators (stemming especially from his immediate pupil, Charles E. Bessey, long at the University of Nebraska, though I think one must add also Doctor Bailey himself). Dr. Beal especially studied grasses, but published also a *Michigan Flora* in 1904, and papers on flower pollination, seed vitality, etc.

In England I can select from Britten and Boulger's *Biographical Index* a few persons simply because they are either stated to have been Friends or there are references to accounts of them in the Friends' *Biographical Catalogue*. Such are William Frederick Miller (1834-1918), an engraver, who contributed papers to the *Journal of Botany* from 1882 to 1910, and whose herbarium is at Sidcot Friends' School in Somersetshire; Langley Kitch-

[25] The late Dr. Henry Leffmann, who was a member of the Botanical Section of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia when it moved to its present site in 1876, once repeated to me a remembered remark of those days. Someone had mentioned this plant, when another said: "Isn't that a pretty gay plant for a Quaker?" (I presume that they both thought the species had been named for Josiah, rather than Thomas Hoopes.) Dr. Leffmann (1847-1930), whose father was Jewish but his mother a Friend, was a most interesting man, who, after retirement from medical teaching, gave his time generously to the geographic arranging of specimens in the Academy's herbarium. He had a rare fund of anecdotes and often an appropriate witticism — I recall that, apropos of my having suggested that the shrubby New Zealand plants which had been long called *Veronica* should be separated out as a special genus to which the long-lapsed name *Hebe* should be applied (a suggestion taken up by New Zealand botanists and generally adopted), Dr. Leffmann told the Philadelphia Botanical Club that my case should be investigated; it was the era of prohibition and I had deliberately taken these beautiful plants away from the saint who bore on her handkerchief the image of our Saviour's face and given it to the person who handed round the booze!

ing (1835-1910), who collected in Madagascar about 1880 and for whom J. G. Baker named *Kitchingia,* a genus of the stonecrop family (Crassulaceæ) that is peculiar to Madagascar; Henry Tuke Mennell, F. L. S. (1835-1923), "alpinist", whose "Notes on the Botany of Swanage" appeared in 1882 in the *Journal of Botany;* and John Handey (ca. 1836-1910), author in 1898 of a catalogue of plants growing in Sedbergh district, Yorkshire.

In America the issue of the Civil War, with its moral and humanitarian challenge to the pacifist principles of Friends, was most keenly felt by the young men in their twenties. J. Bernard Brinton (1835-1894), of Chester County, with a brilliant record as a medical student and just established as a physician in Philadelphia, became an assistant surgeon in the United States Army, thus undoubtedly forfeiting his membership in our Society. In 1863 he was appointed "Medical Purveyor to the Army of the Potomac", a position that he held to the close of the war. Subsequently, as a physician once more in Philadelphia, he became increasingly devoted to botany, and Stewardson Brown has told us[26] how his home became the rallying point for a group of enthusiasts who each week end went out on botanical tramps together. This was the nucleus from which in December, 1891, the Philadelphia Botanical Club came into being, an organization that has grown to mature life under the ægis of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Dr. Brinton lived only three more years, and his herbarium did not pass to the Club that he had founded, although it is well preserved and appreciated at the neighboring University of Pennsylvania.

The pacifist position of Friends was that taken by Cyrus G. Pringle (1838-1911) of Vermont, a young man of keenly sensitive conscience who joined Friends at that time of stress. In an obituary account,[27] Dr. Ezra Brainerd tells, with the aid of Pringle's diary[28] the story of his arrest with two like-spirited

[26] *Bartonia* 1 (1908), 2-4. The frontispiece, a drawing of Dr. Brinton, with his plant-press under his arm and a specimen in his hand, is from a crayon sketch made by a happily gifted member of the group, Albrecht Jahn.

[27] *Rhodora* (New England Botanical Club, Boston), 13 (1911), 225-232. With portrait.

[28] Reprinted in 1913 by *The Atlantic Monthly,* and in 1918 by The Macmillan Company under the title, *The Record of a Quaker Conscience: Cyrus Pringle's Diary.*

companions in July, 1863 and of the brutal efforts made to break their opposition, for these young men took so absolutist a position as to be unwilling to accept hospital work or any other "complicity with this system of war." Near the end of the year, and on intercession from President Lincoln, they were paroled, but "upon my arrival in New York I was seized with delirium, from which I recovered only after many weeks, through the mercy and favor of Him who in all this trial had been our guide and strength and comfort."

Back in Vermont from 1864 to 1880 Pringle became an outstanding horticulturalist, so interesting himself in the production of new strains by hybridization that it is said that his improved varieties of wheat, oats, grapes, and potatoes "have added many millions to the profits of the American farmer." But wealth did not accrue to him; instead there came domestic affliction. In his fervent religious zeal of early 1863 he had married a lady who now wished to devote both their lives to "evangelistic work", labor for which he felt that he had neither taste nor talent. Separation came in 1872, and divorce in 1877, his wife taking custody of their only child.[29] Without a home, and wishing a change of scene, Pringle commenced the third period of his life in 1880.

Cyrus G. Pringle became America's greatest botanical collector. He made his expeditions possible by gathering plants in sets, of which one would be given to Dr. Asa Gray at Harvard University for identification and others sold to defray expenses. For the first five seasons he collected in Arizona, California and Lower California, but from 1885 to 1909 he worked in Mexico and procured as many as sixty sets of each plant gathered. Following Doctor Gray's death in 1888, his successors at Harvard, and especially Dr. B. L. Robinson, assumed the task of naming these beautiful collections, and describing the many species new to science that they included. Through all these years Pringle maintained the

[29] About such private matters an outsider should hardly judge, but I cannot refrain from passing on the comment made to me by a Quaker friend. Knowing that he came from near-by upper New York. I had asked him about the matter. He knew nothing of Cyrus Pringle, but when I gave the wife's name, Almira Prindle (as she spelled it), he remembered her well. "Of all the harsh illiberal spirits I have ever met, she was the worst. I would have divorced her myself to escape from that woman." His sympathies lay instinctively with Cyrus, a man whose gentle spirit was evident to the end of his days.

standard that had led Gray to call him "the prince of collectors."[30] His name is scientifically perpetuated in that of many species of Mexican plants and by the genera *Pringleophytum* that Gray gave to a member of the Acanthus family and *Pringleochloa* given by Scribner to a Mexican grass.

A surprising number of Philadelphia botanists were born in the 1840's. Benjamin H. Smith (1841-1918), son of George Smith (already mentioned) and a surveyor, worked on a "Flora of Delaware County, Pennsylvania", that remains in manuscript; and he also cooperated actively with Dr. C. S. Sargent of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University in his study of the wild thorns, *Cratægus,* one of which was named for him as *C. smithii.* Dr. Horatio C. Wood (1841-1919), prominent on the medical faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and who also taught botany there, was the author of a *Prodromus of a Study of Fresh-water Algæ,* that long remained the standard work in its field. Charles D. Lippincott (1841-1926), of Swedesboro, New Jersey, who in his youth felt called by duty to bear his part in the Civil War and then through the subsequent years of a long life felt similarly called to be a most consistent Friend, was closely associated with Benjamin Heritage in the study of the plants of Gloucester County; his herbarium passed to the Academy of Natural Sciences, and I recall that in his old age no member more faithfully attended the meetings of the Philadelphia Botanical Club. Isaac C. Martindale (1842-1893), a banker of Camden, New Jersey, collected Algæ as well as higher plants; his herbarium is now preserved at the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy where it has recently undergone an active renovation.[31] Lewis Woolman (1842-1903), was especially interested in those minute silica-shelled unicellular plants called Diatoms. Joel J. Carter (1843-1912), of southern Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was joint author with

[30] In 1936 the University of Vermont, which possesses Pringle's own herbarium and also his notebooks, published the *Life and Work of Cyrus Guernsey Pringle* by Helen Burns Davis, a volume of 756 pages. This includes a Life, Diaries of his Mexican Trips, and various lists, both by families and by Pringle's collection numbers, of the species gathered. Obtainable as a supplement is my pamphlet of fourteen pages, indexing his collecting localities and locating many of these as along certain railroad routes. Pringle worked mostly along Mexico's extensive system of railways.

[31] See "The Martindale Herbarium" by T. P. Haas in the *American Journal of Pharmacy,* 116 (1944), 420-432.

Dr. John K. Small of a *Flora of Lancaster County* (1913), and for him Doctor Small named a Florida orchid *Carteria;* his herbarium is at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. William Trimble (1847-1932), from his school days at Westtown known as "Botany Bill", was one of three brothers of Delaware County, Pennsylvania, who cherished keen interest in plants—William, who lived at Concordville, was the most devoted to our science, and his herbarium is at the Academy in Philadelphia; his older brother Samuel (1843-1919), long a physician at Lima, was equally interested in natural history, especially botany,[32] and in the local history, both of these interests stimulated by his early association with the Painter brothers of Painter's Arboretum; and his younger brother Henry Trimble (1853-1898), professor at the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, was the author of a two-volume work on *The Tannins* (1892-1894), that took due notice of the various oaks yielding suitable barks.

Passing to the next decade there is Ferris Walton Price (1852-1909), long teacher of Latin at Swarthmore College, whose interest in the local flora supplied many records to Keller and Brown's *Handbook of the Flora of Philadelphia and Vicinity,* published in 1905. (That work also contains records supplied by his student, Newlin Williams, and by many other Friends, including the one next to be mentioned.) Charles S. Williamson (1857-1914), Instructor of Mechanical Drawing at Girard College in Philadelphia, spent his vacations on botanical collecting trips to many parts of the United States and Canada; thus, he assembled a large herbarium, that eventually passed to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.[33] Aven Nelson, born in 1859, long Professor of Botany in the University of Wyoming and who has developed there the Rocky Mountain Herbarium, the largest such collection between St. Louis and California, was by birth a Friend, although in youth he left our Society to obtain his education in a Methodist college in Missouri. He has described

[32] To Dr. Trimble I feel personally indebted for the perseverance and growth of my early love for wild flowers. In my boyhood he was our family physician and took such an interest in my plant-hunts as on meeting days or oftener to inquire into my progress, suggest places to go and treasurers to seek, and even at times to take me with him on such trips. His conveyance was no modern dash-about car, but a slow horse that was always ready to let us stop and explore a swamp or woods.

[33] *Bartonia* 7 (1914), 1-5. With portrait.

many species new to science, and is the author of a *New Manual of Botany of the Central Rocky Mountain States* (1909). T. Chalkley Palmer (1860-1935), for nearly forty years President of the Delaware County Institute of Science and in 1927 and 1928 of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, assembled a large collection of Diatoms and other Algæ, publishing especially on the minute Algal genus *Trachelomonas;* he also made a choice collection of the spores of *Isœtes* to illustrate his study of that curious aquatic relative of the ferns.

Charles Francis Saunders (1860-1941), long resident in Philadelphia and an active collector and student of our Pennsylvania flora, about 1904 moved to Pasadena in southern California. He has written with singular charm of plants, both wild and cultivated, his *Useful Wild Plants of the United States and Canada* (1920) being of wide geographic scope, but his later books deal mainly with California and adjoining western territory. Most particularly has he enjoyed telling of the original discovery and the scientific naming of each species or genus, thus making widely known many a delightful story. Of such a nature is his *Western Wild Flowers and their Stories* (1933), though the same spirit permeates all his work.[34]

Four of our Quaker botanists were born in 1870. First, I would speak of Arthur N. Leeds (1870-1939) of Philadelphia, who, with his older brother, Morris E. Leeds, was among the founders of the Philadelphia Botanical Club in 1891. Arthur used to say it was his ambition to be for half a century Treasurer of the Club, a distinction that would have been his in two more years. Morris remains its only surviving Founder. Arthur fol-

[34] May I repeat a paragraph from a review of his *Trees and Shrubs of California Gardens* that I wrote for *The Friend,* (vol. 100, p. 139) soon after the book's appearance in 1926? "One feels that such a work has not been conceived or written hastily, but has been the outcome of years of devoted observation of the 'Trees and Shrubs of California Gardens', and of a desire to learn much of each plant. I wonder if we may not consider as C. F. Saunders' own the comment which he places in the mouth of his 'neighbor the Professor', a remark that covers happily the loving inquiry of which this book would seem to be the outcome: 'I should consider it disgraceful business to be living cheek by jowl with this fascinating company of the Lord's creations that gladden me hourly with their gifts of beauty and fragrance, and yet know less about them than the unlettered birds do who nest in their twigs and harvest their seeds. If I am to take a plant into my family I want to be able to call it by name and know everything obtainable concerning it, past and present. Then I can look it in the face, as one creature of the Lord to another.' "

lowed botany more intensively than did his brother, and, after retiring from business in 1926, commenced in 1928 an association with the Academy of Natural Sciences that lasted until his death. Assuming charge of the Pteridophyta (ferns and their relatives), he cared assiduously for the collections under his charge, and rapidly developed a remarkable library about these plants. Five papers by him appeared in botanical journals between 1931 and 1937, and in 1938 (in collaboration with Dr. Francis Harper) "A Supplementary Chapter on Franklinia alatamaha", an account of the history and especially of their joint search for this tree of coastal Georgia, a tree first discovered by the Bartrams and not seen wild since 1790. Arthur Leeds was a kind adviser and generous helper of the Academy's botanical interests, and those who knew him best were confidently expecting more papers from his scholarship.[35]

Joseph Burtt Davy (1870-1940), born in Derbyshire, England, was both an able minister among Friends and an able botanist. He commenced his botanical career as an assistant at Kew Gardens. In 1892 he migrated to California, studying at the University of California, after 1896 teaching there, and publishing, mostly in the state's Agricultural Station's reports, papers on both wild and cultivated plants. In 1903 he went to South Africa to become "Government Agrostologist and Botanist and Chief of the Division of Botany" for the Transvaal; there he founded the present National Herbarium, though after 1913 he went into business on his own account, most particularly into growing pedigreed maize, an enterprise in which he was very successful. The South African experience resulted in his most important work, *A Manual of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of the Transvaal with Swaziland, South Africa,* of which the first volume appeared in parts in 1926 and 1932, while a second volume was in preparation at the time of his death. In 1920 Burtt Davy again changed his scene of activity, returning to England where he obtained the degree of Ph.D. from Cambridge University in 1924, and then, after a brief and physically unfortunate return to California in 1925, joined the staff of the Imperial Forestry Institute at Oxford University, from which he received the degrees of Honorary M. A. in 1926 and D. Phil. in 1936. At

[35] *Bartonia,* 20 (1938), 30-32. With portrait.

Oxford he prepared, with cooperation of colleagues and students, his *Forest Trees and Timbers of the British Empire* and also *Check Lists* of the trees and shrubs of various parts of Africa. In an obituary sketch[36] Dr. Ramsbottom says of him: "Burtt Davy was an enthusiast on any subject he took up and a most painstaking worker . . . . He inspired his students at Oxford, and was for them both a master and a friend." His library and a large fund was bequeathed to the University of Oxford, the latter toward a scholarship "for research work in Taxonomic Botany and/or Tropical Plant-Ecology."

The other two botanists born in 1870 are still with us. Roscoe Pound is of the tradition of Professor Beal, since he was one of the pupils of Professor Bessey of the University of Nebraska. After receiving his doctorate he was made Director of the Botanical Survey of Nebraska, and, jointly with Dr. F. E. Clements, brought out in 1897 *The Phytogeography of Nebraska.* He had also studied law, and now decided to make the teaching of law his lifework; he became dean of the law schools, successively, of the following universities: Nebraska, Northwestern, Chicago and Harvard. It was at Harvard that he joined in membership with Friends.

Robert R. Tatnall, of Wilmington, Delaware, after obtaining his Ph.D. in physics and teaching that subject both in Illinois and at Syracuse University in New York, returned in 1919 to his native city, and has since been elaborating his uncle Edward Tatnall's list of the plants of Newcastle County, Delaware, into an annotated record of the flowering plants and ferns of all Delmarva. This careful study, entitled *Flora of Delaware and the Eastern Shore,* was published in 1947. Friends will recall that in 1941 Doctor Tatnall presented an account of "The New Westtown Herbarium" in *The Westonian,* (1941), vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 4-6.

Henry S. Conard, born in 1874, taught first at Westtown School; then he studied at the University of Pennsylvania, receiving his Ph. D. in 1901, his thesis being a sumptuous volume on the true water lilies *(Nymphæa)* that was issued by the Carnegie Institution of Washington as Publication No. 4 in 1905. For a few years he taught botany at the University, but since 1906 he has been Professor of that subject at Grinnell College, Iowa. Of

[36] Linnean Society of London, *Proceedings,* 153 (1942), 291-293.

recent years his interest has turned mainly to mosses, and in 1944 he brought out a well-illustrated and helpful guide to them under the caption *How to Know the Mosses.*

Samuel C. Palmer, born in 1874, after obtaining his doctorate at Harvard University, long taught zoology at Swarthmore College, but latterly has turned to botany, and has made an extensive series of water-color drawings of wild plants. These drawings have been presented to his College.

Edward E. Wildman, born in 1874 at Selma, Ohio, received his Ph. D. from the University of Pennsylvania, and was for many years in charge of science teaching in the high schools of Philadelphia. In 1933 he published *Penn's Woods,* a record of such large trees within the territory centering around Philadelphia, as would likely have grown in the forest William Penn saw in his woodland colony in 1682. A second edition appeared in 1946. From the autumn of 1944 Dr. Wildman has been devoting much of his time during the colder parts of the year to the selection of types and other historic specimens so as to form a special series of historic material at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

Howard S. Fawcett, born at Salem, Ohio, in 1877, attended Westtown School and then studied successively at Iowa State College, the University of Florida, and Johns Hopkins University, obtaining his doctorate in 1918. He is a plant pathologist who for many years has specialized upon diseases of *Citrus,* publishing our most authoritative texts upon the subject. Since 1912 he has been in southern California, and is now at the Citrus Experiment Station at Riverside.

Forrest Shreve, born in 1878 at Easton, Maryland, after obtaining his Ph. D. at Johns Hopkins University, has long been interested in the ecological study of plants. In 1910 he contributed the main discussion, both as to the species concerned and their relations with each other and to the environment, to *The Plant Life of Maryland,* a volume issued by the Maryland Weather Service. In 1908 commenced his association with the Carnegie Institution, and from 1928 he had charge of its Desert Laboratory near Tucson, Arizona; for many years he has been our chief student of the ecology of desert vegetation.

Edwin B. Bartram, born in 1878 and a descendant of John

Bartram, was for several years an active member of the Philadelphia Botanical Club. Soon after 1920 he retired from business in Philadelphia, and has since made his home at Bushkill, Monroe County, Pennsylvania. Then, becoming increasingly interested in the study of mosses, he gave to the Academy of Natural Sciences his large general herbarium. For more than two decades now he has pursued the study of mosses with such keenness that he is today one of America's foremost authorities on these plants. His studies have extended to species of tropical lands and far islands, as well as to those of continental America; and he has himself proposed many species as new to science. It is interesting to see a Bartram, through so many generations removed from John and William, carry forward so constructively the family zeal for botany.

Joseph H. Painter (1879-1908), of Chadd's Ford, Pennsylvania, a classmate of Howard Fawcett at Westtown School, became an assistant curator in the Division of Plants of the United States National Museum at Washington, D. C. There he assisted Dr. J. N. Rose, whom he accompanied on several collecting trips to Mexico. The young man had well entered upon scientific productivity, being author of a few studies of Mexican plants, when he lost his life in a canoe accident on the Potomac River. His herbarium was given to Westtown School. To his memory Britton and Rose in 1928 dedicated *Painteria,* a Tropical American group of Leguminous trees.

Chronologically, my name comes next, I having been born in 1886 in Delaware County, Pennsylvania. I was a pupil at Westtown School, in 1906 and 1907 a Jessup Student at the Academy of Natural Sciences, from 1907 to 1914 a student at the University of Pennsylvania, from 1914 to 1921 on the staff of the New York Botanical Garden, and from 1921 to date Curator of Plants at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. My interest has been in systematic (or taxonomic) botany, and for years I have been making a special study of the plants of the family to which the Snapdragon and Foxglove belong, the Scrophulariaceæ. To see these afield I have visited various parts of the United States and Mexico, and also, in combination with projects of much wider plant collecting, the Andean countries of Colombia, Peru, and Chile. For the requisite bibliographic and herbarium

study, I have been most fortunate in working with the library and specimens of the Academy.

E. Maris Harvey, born in 1888 in Kansas, received his Ph. D. from the University of Chicago in 1914, and then, after a period of teaching in an eastern college, became Professor of Horticultural Research in the Oregon State College from 1919 to 1931. His work has been in plant physiology, and since 1931 he has been associated with the U. S. Department of Agriculture with his headquarters for much of the time at Pomona in southern California. As from my boyhood I knew his older brother, Anson B. Harvey, an intimate friend of my family and of Dr. Henry S. Conard, and who used to take me along on plant-hunting tramps, it seemed a family matter to receive from Dr. Maris Harvey in Oregon some beautifully prepared Scrophulariaceæ, and as recently as 1940 to be taken by him to the research station of Rancho Santa Ana in southern California.

Edgar Anderson, born in New York in 1897, holder of the degree of Sc. D. from Harvard University in 1922, has over most of the succeeding years been geneticist at the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis. He is the author of many papers, and a delightful contributor to discussions at scientific symposia. Of recent years his interest has turned largely to the history and genetics of maize.

Let us close this record of Quaker botanists with 1900, including only those born before that year. This frees us from the difficult task of making selection among younger men, a matter of uncertainty with those who are just beginning their life interests. Also, with the increasing relinquishment of those "minor testimonies" that used to set Friends apart as a people, one finds increasing doubt as to who are or who are not of our Society.

Scanning the record as a whole it is one with which any intellectual or religious group may be content. Yet, I do not know that it is one that need call forth especial pride. Few of the greatest men in botanical science have been Friends. Our strength has lain, not in the production of leaders so much as in the high level of scientific sensitivity in our group. We have been keen observers rather than profound thinkers. But should not such a group provide fertile soil for the best intellectual life of the future?

SPRING MEETING, 1948
FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

WILLISTOWN Friends, in Willistown Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, commemorated this year the 150th anniversary of the building of their meetinghouse in 1798. As part of the celebration they invited Friends Historical Association to come to Willistown for its Spring Meeting, on Saturday, May 22, 1948. About 125 Friends gathered at 3.30 p. m. to hear talks on early Willistown Quakers by their descendants. Lauretta Smedley Dutton spoke of Morgan B. Hall, his sermons and his nature poems, of Mordecai Bartram, and of her own father, Lewis B. Smedley, who long acted as superintendent of the Willistown First-day School. Thomas S. Bartram, Sr., read excerpts from the diary of his father, Mordecai Thomas Bartram, which told of lyceum sessions in the meetinghouse, and of the "Benton Society" and the "Biographical Society," educational features of a world devoid of radios, movies, and consolidated public schools. C. Marshall Taylor reminisced, in a lighter vein, as to his own boyhood at Willistown. His humorous stories of ancient Hicksite-Orthodox peculiarities and differences served to emphasize the unity which now exists among Friends in the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, and in organizations such as Friends Historical Association.

President William W. Comfort remarked that this was the first occasion on which Friends Historical Association had met at Willistown, and hoped that Willistown Friends would join the Association in promoting interest in Quaker historical activities. George N. Highley welcomed the Association on behalf of Willistown Meeting. After the formal talks were over most Friends remained to have box suppers, and enjoy the beautiful view of the Chester County countryside which may be seen from the knoll on which the old Willistown meetinghouse stands.

A BRIEF and unique Quaker biography is the memoir by John Rich, printed in the very attractive collection of the unpublished poems and devotional thoughts of his father, Max I. Reich (1867-1945). The book is called *Sweet Singer of Israel* (Chicago, The Moody Press, 1948).

RUFUS M. JONES
1863-1948

QUAKER HISTORY lost its most distinguished writer in the death of Rufus Matthew Jones at Haverford on June 16, 1948. His editorship, with William C. Braithwaite, of the Rowntree Quaker History Series, for Macmillan and Company, of London, and his own volumes in the series: *Studies in Mystical Religion* (1909), *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (1911), *Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1914), and *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (2 vols., 1921) marked him as the leading historian of a notable generation of Friends who showed a new interest in the history of their Religious Society and its place in the world. Besides these volumes, themselves a monument to a vital and fruitful life, and besides the impression which Rufus Jones made on all who knew him, or heard him, or read him, two other major contributions by him to Quaker thought and Quaker history exist in the Quaker Collection at Haverford: his own unique Collection on Mysticism, which he presented to the College in 1941, and the Clarence M. Tobias Collection of the Writings of Rufus M. Jones, in many volumes and hundreds of articles. As Friends review his life and service to their Society, his place in Quaker historiography should receive the attention it deserves. We hope that the preparation of a complete bibliography of Rufus Jones's writings, and an account of his contribution to Quaker history may soon be undertaken.—EDITOR.

THE Difficulties and Dangers of Eighteenth Century Travel as Revealed in Quaker Journals," by Mary C. Campbell, of Norristown, a Columbia Master's Thesis (1946), now in the Quaker Collection at Haverford, discloses not only the troubles of travel two centuries ago, but illuminates the character and devotion of the unarmed travellers who bravely set out in peace and war to carry the message of Friends. For excitement, the author recommends the journals of Samuel Bownas, Patience Brayton, and Thomas Chalkley; for the Quaker spirit at its best, those of John Churchman and John Woolman.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Trudy Abelow, c/o M. Fibreis, 7802 - 21st Avenue, Brooklyn 14, New York. *Mahlon Day*—a *Biographical Sketch.* Brooklyn College; History, thesis for M.A. degree, 1949. Writing commenced.

Francis R. Bacon, School of Architecture, Western Reserve University, Cleveland 6, Ohio. *Early Quaker Meetinghouses of Great Britain and Ireland.* (A graphic and historical record of the now extant meetinghouses known to the "First Publishers of Truth," 1652-1725.) Research commenced.

Edwin B. Bronner, 536 Ryerss Avenue, Cheltenham, Pennsylvania. (1) *Quakers and the Proprietary Government of Pennsylvania, 1718-1756.* (A discussion of what influence Friends had on government, and the tracing of how that influence was lost.) University of Pennsylvania; History, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Research commenced. (2) *Pennsylvania Politics, 1739-45, as portrayed in the Richard Peters Letterbook.* (The result of a search of the Richard Peters Letterbooks for this period for his reaction to politics. A seminar paper written as part of the dissertation topic mentioned above.) Completed.

Mildred Campbell, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York. *Servants to the Foreign Plantations—Some Anglo-Americans of the Seventeenth Century.* (A study of indentured servants who left the port of Bristol, 1654-1685, for various parts of the New World. Who they were—why they went.) Read at a meeting of the Anglo-American Historical Conference in London, July 1948.

John Cox, Jr., 7 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York. *John Bowne, Pioneer of Freedom.* (A biography of John Bowne and an edited transcription of his Journal.) Almost completed.

Anna Janney DeArmond, 6334 Sherwood Road, Philadelphia 32, Pennsylvania. *Andrew Bradford.* (A biographical sketch of Bradford's life and a study of his place in the history of American colonial journalism.) University of Pennsylvania; English Literature, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1947. Completed.

Helen Farnum, 345 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey. *The Doctrine of Samuel Fisher, Quaker Controversialist.* (Study of Fisher's doctrine to show the function of the doctrine in the early Quaker movement, and to show how the account of salvation in terms of the Inner Light influenced the Calvinism appropriated by Fox.) Columbia University; English, thesis for M.A. degree, 1949. Completed.

Carolyn Thomas Foreman (Mrs. Grant Foreman), 1419 West Okmulgee Avenue, Muskogee, Oklahoma. *Lewis F. Hadley.* (Account of work by Hadley in Indian sign language among red men in Oklahoma.) Completed. To be published in *Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

Morris Glover, Woodstock, 37 Elsworthy Road, London N.W. 3, England. *The Bedford Institute Association and its Relation to English Social Structure, 1849-1948.* (A study of Quaker social work over a century.) University of London; essay for a diploma in Social Studies. Research commenced.

Margaret Awiol Griffiths, Education Department, University College, Swansea, England. *The Historical Geography of the Early Iron Industry in Wales.* (Material used at Friends' Library—The Kelsall Diaries and Abiah Darby's Journal.) University of Wales; Geography, thesis for M.A. degree, 1949. Research commenced.

Paul Held, Laubholzstrasse 807, Erlenbach bei Zürich, Switzerland. *George Fox.* (His life, work, sufferings, and victories.) Research completed.

Francis Hamilton Hibbard, Box 174, Barnesville, Ohio. *The Union Humane Society.* (An inquiry into Benjamin Lundy's activities in Ohio and an account of the members composing the original St. Clairsville society and if possible an account of the seven other local societies.) Research commenced.

Hiram H. Hilty, Guilford College, North Carolina. *The Good Neighbors.* (Collection of letters, articles and journal notes collected during five years' service under the American Friends Board of Missions in Cuba, 1943-48.) Completed.

Harry Alexander Holmes, Rolling Acres Farm, Box 51, Route 1, Lyme, New Hampshire. *Friends and the Indians.* Research commenced.

N. C. Hunt, 44, Girton Road, Cambridge, England. *Dissent and Politics.* (A study of the efforts of various groups of people to promote Parliamentary legislation during the period 1730-1742. Reference is made to the Friends and their efforts to secure the passing of a Tithe Bill.) Cambridge University; History, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1950. Research commenced.

Amice Lee (Mrs. R. Warder Lee), Westbury Lodge, Norham Road, Oxford, England. *William and Mary Howitt.* (Biographical account, with extensive use of unpublished letters.) Writing commenced.

Walter L. Lukens, Jr., 140 Hilldale Road, Lansdowne, Pennsylvania. *Origins of the Philadelphia Free Quaker Movement.* (A sociological study of the origins of the Free Quaker movement and why the group started to worship as an individual meeting in 1781.) University of Pennsylvania; History, thesis for M.A. degree, 1949. Research commenced.

James M. Phillips, 32 South Edwards Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. *The Rôle of Religious Pacifism in the United States Prior to the Second World War.* (The influence of religious pacifists of Protestant denominations on American private, public, and religious life in the interwar period, 1918-1941.) Princeton; History, thesis for A.B. degree, 1949. Research in progress.

George Siegmund Pick, 60 Chapter Road, London N.W. 2, England. *Francis Daniel Pastorius.* (A biography, with selections from his writings.) Research and writing in progress.

Wesley E. Schwarz, 516 South Eagle Road, Havertown, Pennsylvania. *William Darlington: Botanist, Physician, and Man of Affairs.* University of Pennsylvania; History, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Research commenced.

L. Rhoades Sanford, Box 84, Wilmington, Vermont. *Techniques Used in Peace Speeches by Members of the Society of Friends, 1914-1941.* (An analysis of seventy-nine speeches by American and British Quakers, men and women, showing methods of securing and using material.) University of Wisconsin; thesis for M.A. degree. Completed. Copy available for interlibrary loan at the Jane Addams Peace Collection, Swarthmore College.

Alan Staley, 25 The Crossway, Ealing, W. 13, England. *Old People's Hostels Maintained by Friends Relief Service.* London University; thesis for diploma in Social Studies, 1948. Partially completed.

William C. Stewart, The Croft, Bayhall Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England. *Early Days in the Monthly Meeting of Sussex.* (Includes extracts of minutes from the Monthly Meeting.) Completed.

Earl G. Swem, 119 Chandler Court, Williamsburg, Virginia. *Brothers of the Spade. Letters of Peter Collinson and John Custis, 1734-1746.* (Reprint of letters in full, with biographical comment on both. Appendix will contain a review of John Bartram's travels in Virginia.) To be published in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society.

Carl Ray Woodring, 1014 South Abe Street, San Angelo, Texas. *William and Mary Howitt and Their Circles.* (Relationships of the Howitts to literary persons and intellectual movements of the nineteenth century.) Harvard; English, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1949. Nearly completed.

Albright G. Zimmerman, 6008 Columbia Avenue, Philadelphia 31, Pennsylvania. *Indian Trade in Pennsylvania from the Earliest Times to 1755.* (Special attention is being given the economic rôle of the trade, and to James Logan's activities.) Columbia University; History, thesis for Ph.D. degree. In preparation.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience, by Geoffrey F. Nuttall, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1946. 192 pp. $3.25

THROUGHOUT this interesting and scholarly study the author seeks to do two things. First, "to present 'The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience' fairly and objectively, as a study in historical theology, with sympathetic understanding but without independent criticism." This may be considered the general purpose of the book. The second objective is "to present early Quakerism in its immediate historical context." His study of Quakerism is here used to support and illustrate the general argument of the book. In so doing, however, it develops into a unique interpretation of the early beginnings of Quakerism. Out of the welter of theological claims and counterclaims within seventeenth century Puritanism, Dr. Nuttall concludes that "the normal, central emphasis throughout is upon the closest conjunction of Spirit and Word." "The Spirit speaks in, by, or through the Word." Gradually it was born in upon the Puritans that theirs was the "age of the Spirit." The realization came about simply from "their own insistence of the centrality of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, combined with the current reawakening of an historic sense."

In their effort to relive the Spirit-centered Christianity of the New Testament, a new interpretation of Christian history was created. It pictured the early formation of an ecclesiastical system with its centralization of authority as having forced the idea of the Holy Spirit to "go underground," until the breakup of the middle ages. At that time, individual access to the Bible, the Renaissance of learning and the spirit of individualism which followed, paved the way again for a Spirit-centered Christianity. The author suggests that it is impossible to understand in Puritanism the disuse of the many things which orthodox Christianity considered of prime importance "unless we realize that many Puritans believed themselves to be living in a remarkable age, a new age, perhaps the last age, and that their conception of history was quite different from any conception to which we are accustomed today." "The revolution" which took place was a violent one, and in untrained, ill-balanced minds the wheel turned so completely as to alarm the more reflective and conservative" even of the Puritans themselves. It is nevertheless true that Puritanism found its logical conclusion in extreme groups such as Quakerism—"the youngest and most radical."

Dr. Nuttall, who combines a thorough knowledge with a genuine appreciation of the overall religious picture of the period, presents a well-balanced analysis of Quakerism and its relation to the larger body of Puritanism. He believes that Quaker writers have tended "to neglect the spiritual climate in which, as a matter of fact, Quakerism arose"—and to concentrate upon the "mediaeval and sixteenth-century mystics, the similiarity of whose teaching with that of the early Quakers is primarily of academic interest." Non-Quaker writers on the other hand, "tend to ignore Quakerism as an unimportant and extreme vagary in seventeenth century piety." It is in the belief that historical fact bears out a position somewhere between the two extremes that the author treats Quakerism as of first importance in indicat-

ing "the direction of the Puritan movement as a whole," and in many ways shows Quakerism to be the "logical outcome" of the Puritan movement.

"Quakerism grew, as all movements of men's spirits must grow, out of the soil and climate of the time." "Quaker conviction," Dr. Nuttall continues, "was but the carrying forward of a development already well-advanced within radical Puritanism." "It was an emphasis, a fusing and a systematization of beliefs which had appeared earlier but which had then been more hesitant, sporadic and unrelated." For example, the appeal to individual, personal experience by Fox and his followers is, as we see now, none other than the "authentic voice of the seventeenth century" and is "precisely the Puritan emphasis and contribution."

The great genius of Fox and that which resulted in so much misunderstanding and opposition from those with a "less penetrating perception than his own" lay in the fact that he was the first to apply the "newly discovered principle to the heart of the citadel itself," namely the Scriptures. Fox and the Quakers insisted that this same Spirit which was in the prophets and in the writers of the Scripture, was in themselves. The Scriptures were meaningless only as they "come to the Spirit that gave them forth." Again, the new in the Quaker message was but the further application of the belief in the "Holy Spirit's contemporary indwelling," accepted as a principle by the more radical Puritans, to be something which held in daily practice. It was as much "the Judge and Touchstone" in them as in the Apostles. The logical conclusion of the Puritan attitude toward the ordinances as "outward and creaturely aids" was the final Quaker disuse of all ordinances. This implied in a sense the "perfection or completion of a new age in the Spirit."

Dr. Nuttall finds but a limited mystical element in the radical Puritanism of the period. While the "mystical experience per se is one of yielding to that which takes possession; the Puritans kept an active and firm control of their personalities, allowing small place for relaxation or passivity." "Yet," he continues, "in a piety which was essentially a movement towards immediacy in communion with God, it would be strange if mysticism were to find no place. In point of fact, it is evident that the type of experience defined was keenly desired and gladly welcomed by at least the more radical among the Puritans." The author finds that of all the radical Puritans who is most consciously and consistently mystical in his language, Morgan Llwyd, who was not a Quaker, ranks first. Many historians have suggested a close connection between the continental mystic, Jacob Boehme, and the Quakers. The author believes this hardly to be the case. He holds, for instance, that "to anyone who reads Boehme's and Fox's writings consecutively and comparatively, the utter difference between their respective spiritual climates is soon apparent."

Dr. Nuttall's book is no doubt of primary interest to the student of seventeenth century Puritanism. The excessive number of footnotes; untranslated quotations and the technical language make the book difficult for the reader unacquainted with the history and literature of the period.

This is purposely not a critical analysis of the content of the book but rather a brief review in order to stimulate an interest in this valuable study. The person who will take time to read *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* will be rewarded by a new appreciation of Puritanism and a fresh contemporary interpretation of the beginnings and growth of seventeenth century Quakerism based on thorough research and well-founded conclusions.

J. Harold Hadley

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Meeting House and Counting House. The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763, by Frederick B. Tolles. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1948. 292 pp. $5.00

HERE is one more book about eighteenth-century Philadelphia people. But this book is by a Friend, about Friends and of special interest to Friends, illustrated with contemporary portraits and buildings, indexed, and richly documented from primary and secondary sources.

Before the end of the seventeenth century a wealthy Quaker merchant class was beginning to emerge both in England and Pennsylvania. That much is well known. But the manner in which this class of Philadelphians, whose growing profits seemed almost inevitable, strove to reconcile its business ethics with the spiritual principles of the Society, has not been so clearly shown before. The evidence is found in the rich manuscript collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and in the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Minutes in the Department of Records at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia. This dual allegiance is suggested by the title, though it is the counting-house partner in the title that here receives most attention. The meetinghouse end is pretty generally known from earlier treatments and from contemporary journals of "plain" Friends.

Dr. Tolles, while believing that Quakerism rose out of the Puritan environment of Commonwealth England and that it betrayed many marks of its origin, develops the idea that "in its complete reliance upon the Spirit of God manifested in the soul of every man, Quakerism revealed itself as one of the varieties of mystic religion." The problem of reconciling an essentially mystic religion with the ready profits of foreign trade proved too much for most of the families with whom Dr. Tolles has to deal. What has become of the Quaker families bearing the distinguished names of Carpenter, Dickinson, Lloyd, Logan, Morris, Norris, Owen, Pemberton, Rawle, Reynell, Shippen, Zachary? They are in the Episcopal Church. Wealth and marriage out of the Society carried their descendants away during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Already "in 1716 the Reverend George Ross observed that 'though we and the Quakers do differ widely, yet 'tis observable that when any of them do leave their own way and become Christians [*sic!*], they generally make their application' to the Anglican

minister instead of going to any of the dissenting pastors 'who, though ten to one of us, do not count one Quaker to ten that come over to the Church'."

This brings us to the second important point substantiated in this book, that about the time of the American Revolution the Society in Philadelphia began to divide into worldly Friends such as were represented by some of the families just mentioned, and "plain" Friends who to save their principles cut themselves off from what William Kite used to call "the world and the things of the world." It is these latter and those of their type who are best known to us through their journals or memoirs: Benezet, Chalkley, Churchman, George Dillwyn, Emlen, Scattergood, and Nicholas Waln after his dramatic hegira from the world of wealth and fashion. The explanation of this gradual separation between the "wet" and "plain" Friends and the eventual departure of the former from the Society is here made plain.

The revelation of the literary and scientific culture of the wealthy merchants is very interesting and to some degree surprising. But the reader should remember that the average Friend in the eighteenth century had no such facilities or taste for culture as the Logan, Norris, Smith, Rawle, and Reynell families.

The book is beautifully printed, and a fairly careful reading including notes and index revealed only one tiny misprint and two little errors of fact: Fénélon should be written Fénelon throughout, and Marguerite of Navarre's *Heptameron* is of course French and not Spanish. The bibliographical essay is a mine of information for the period. This is a book which Philadelphia Friends may well read for what Dr. Tolles calls "delight and profit."

WILLIAM W. COMFORT

Haverford, Pennsylvania

Friends University: The Growth of an Idea, by Juliet Reeve. Wichita, Kansas. Printed for the Friends University by the Wichita Eagle Press, 1948. 326 pp. $3.75

A WORTHY addition to the shelf of Quaker college histories has been made in Juliet Reeve's *Friends University: The Growth of an Idea.* It is a well-written and vivid account of the development of one of the younger Quaker colleges, and through it one may gain many valuable insights into the life of Quakerism in the great West.

The opening chapter depicts the boom period of Kansas in the 1880's when Wichita was dubbed "The Winning Wonder of the Western World," a time when all good Kansans were convinced that Kansas would eventually become the hub of the United States. Out of this enthusiasm of a rich new country, combined with the idealistic vision of several prominent Kansas Friends, came Friends University. The first plans for such a college proposed the establishment of John Bright University. However, it was not until a decade later that the opening of Friends University finally occurred.

This event was made possible through the generosity of James and Anna Davis who had a concern that all worthy young people, especially young Kansas Friends, should have the opportunity to obtain a good college education.

Through the years since the opening of the college in the fall of 1898, there have been five presidents: Edmund Stanley, William O. Mendenhall, David M. Edwards, Walter Albert Young, and the present incumbent, Arthur S. Watson. The work of the first president laid the physical, financial, and academic foundations. William O. Mendenhall's administration brought the college to a new height of spirit and achievement, and for a decade it was a member of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. David Edwards' work was cut short by unexpected death. It then fell to the lot of W. A. Young to pilot the college through the difficult years of the late war. In the fall of 1947 the college opened under the presidency of Arthur S. Watson, who has initiated a vigorous program of expansion and revitalization.

Aspects which are especially interesting are the life and ways of a western Quaker college community in the early years of the twentieth century, the relations between the college and the community of Wichita, the persistence with which friends and alumni of the college have met its adversities, and the "spirit of Friends University" which is indefinably present in Juliet Reeve's presentation.

It is impossible in so short a space to convey an impression of the way of life and atmosphere which this book portrays. To one who has taught within its walls, this story of Friends University raises fond memories and some nostalgia. All Friends who are concerned over the growth and development of Quaker education will be richly rewarded for reading it.

ARTHUR J. MEKEEL

William Penn College

WILLIAM H. MARWICK compiled *A Short History of Friends in Scotland* to signalize the first holding of London Yearly Meeting in that country. The material was secured from varied sources, not without difficulty, and is presented in condensed but readable form. Since the tercentenary of Robert Barclay's birth also occurred in 1948, fifteen pages of this forty-page pamphlet present a sketch of his life, an appreciation of his religion and a précis of parts of his *Apology*.

THE QUAKERS. A Brief Account of their Influence on Pennsylvania, by William Wistar Comfort (Pennsylvania History Studies: No. 2, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1948, 57 pp.), is a pamphlet emphasizing the religious, political and humanitarian influence of Quakerism, especially in southeastern Pennsylvania. In a clear straightforward manner it reviews the life of Penn, and the direct and indirect influence of Friends on standards and services in the Commonwealth.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Frederick B. Tolles and Dorothy G. Harris

The American Friend

In "A Quaker in Art" Esther Griffin White describes the work of Marcus Mote, Indiana Quaker painter. — March 6, 1947, pp. 89-90.

"Our Day in the German Gestapo" by Rufus M. Jones, recounts in the light of new evidence the story of the visit of three American Friends to the Gestapo in 1938 to intercede for the persecuted Jews.—July 10, 1947, pp. 265-267. (Also in *Friends Intelligencer,* August 2, 1947, pp. 404-406.)

The Friend (London)

"Anna B. Thomas" is an account of the life of the well-known Baltimore Friend who died February 10, 1947, at 93 years of age. — March 14, 1947, pp. 192-194.

Fifty years ago, English Friends gathered at Scarborough for a Friends Summer School, the first of its kind in the history of the Society. Joan Mary Fry gives a vivid retrospective account of it in "Scarborough, 1897." — August 15, 1947, pp. 667-669.

For fourteen years Swiss Friends have been holding a General Meeting each year. This has now been organized into a Yearly Meeting and its first session, a landmark in Swiss Quakerism, is described under the title "Swiss Yearly Meeting." — November 7, 1947, p. 902.

English Friends have, on several occasions in the history of the Society, sent addresses to the King. "The Address to the King" describes the scene of the presentation of the latest Quaker address, by a deputation of the Meeting for Sufferings. The address, which is printed in full, is devoted to congratulations on the betrothal of Princess Elizabeth. — November 14, 1947, pp. 925-926.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

"Anna Braithwaite Thomas, 1854-1947" by Janet Whitney, is a sensitively written sketch of the English-born Baltimore Friend who played an important part in the life of the Society of Friends on both sides of the Atlantic. — March 13, 1947, pp. 291-294.

"Some Items of Tunesassa History" by Alice F. Balderston, records some interesting details about the work carried on over the past few decades among the Indians of western New York State by Arch Street Friends. — April 10, 1947, pp. 329-330.

In "Friends and International Statesmanship" Robert Morton Hazelton draws upon the Moses Brown papers to demonstrate the methods by which American Friends worked for peace in the 1790's when most of the Western world was at war. — July 3, 1947, pp. 5-8.

"Contemporary Quaker Missions" by Phyllis Kelly, surveys the present state of the missionary work of English and American Friends with some attention to its historical background. — August 28, 1947, pp. 69-72; September 11, 1947, pp. 85-87.

Friends Intelligencer

"Friends at Lake Success" (Letter from the Past No. 81) touches on a few earlier Quaker associations with the Flushing-Lake Success region and enumerates the many Friends working with the United Nations there. — February 15, 1947, pp. 77-78.

In "Edward Hicks: Friend and Painter," Helen S. Bell reviews the career of the now famous Bucks County minister and "primitive" painter. — March 15, 1947, pp. 131-132.

"Two Visits to the Pope" (Letter from the Past No. 82) compares Stephen Grellet's audience with the Pope in 1819 with that of Stephen Grellet Cary, American Friends Service Committee Commissioner in Europe, in 1947. — April 5, 1947, p. 171.

"George Fox and the Spires of Lichfield" by Frederick B. Tolles, recalls the Founder's memorable passage through the "bloody city" and calls attention to Robert Spence's etching which correctly shows Lichfield Cathedral with but *two* spires instead of the three described by Fox. — May 10, 1947, pp. 239-240.

"Color Trends Among Friends in the 'Forties" (Letters from the Past No. 83) discusses the attitudes of Friends towards the admission of Negro children to schools in the 1840's and 1940's. — June 14, 1947, pp. 309-310.

A Norwegian postage stamp bearing the likeness of Cleng Peerson and the sloop *Restaurationen* reminds "Now and Then" in his Letter from the Past No. 84, of the first shipload of Norwegian Quakers to emigrate to the United States. — July 5, 1947, p. 354.

"George Fox's Journal" by Horace G. Alexander is the transcript of an address given over the British Broadcasting Corporation. — July 26, 1947, pp. 391-392.

Letter from the Past No. 85, announces tentatively but hopefully the discovery of a new portrait of William Penn. — September 13, 1947, p. 492. Number 89 in the same series regretfully records that it is not Penn but the Reverend William Wollaston. — December 13, 1947, pp. 674-675.

"Bagging the Scamp" (Letter from the Past No. 86) reviews the history of the reputedly forged letter of Cotton Mather ordering the capture of William Penn, and comments on a recent attempt to rehabilitate the letter and disprove the charge of forgery. — September 27, 1947, p. 519.

In "Three Graves" (Letter from the Past No. 87) "Now and Then" (Henry J. Cadbury) describes his recent visit to the burial places of Fox, Penn, and Woolman, incidentally calling attention to an error in the death date of Gulielma Penn appearing on her tombstone. — October 11, 1947, pp. 547-548.

"Evangeline" (Letter from the Past No. 88) calls attention to the Quaker references in Longfellow's poem published a century ago. — November 15, 1947, p. 618.

The Friends' Quarterly

Geoffrey F. Nuttall in his article, " 'Unity with the Creation': George Fox and the Hermetic Philosophy" interprets Fox's use of the phrase, and explains the religious and philosophical thought of the seventeenth century which underlies it. — July, 1947, pp. 134-143.

"Quakers at Sea" by William Wistar Comfort gathers together excerpts from the journals of early Friends and from their letters written at sea. These reflect the spirit of confidence with which Friends, traveling under a sense of divine mission, faced danger. — July, 1947, pp. 173-180.

"Report of George Fox (?) in June, 1646," by an American Correspondent, is a discussion of the problem of establishing a tercentenary date for the beginning of Quakerism. — October, 1947, pp. 247-248.

"The Flounders' Trust" by Arnold Lloyd is the history of an English Trust established by Benjamin Flounders for the training of teachers expected to instruct Friends' children. — October, 1947, pp. 250-252.

"The Friends' School at Newton-in-Bowland" by L. John Stroud, tells the story of the little school where John Bright learned the three "R's," a little French and some Latin, before entering business at the age of fifteen. The school is located in a quiet little village near Settle in the picturesque hill country of Yorkshire. — January, 1948, pp. 59-63.

"THE MARTYRDOM," one of the poems by Conrad Aiken in a collection entitled *The Kid* (New York, 1947), tells of the persecution of the Quakers in New England, with an explanatory note on Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick and their family.

A FASCINATING story of books which have become best sellers in the United States from 1662 to 1945 is told by Frank Luther Mott in *Golden Multitudes* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947). The author has made a study of many popular works, but has listed as best sellers only those books which had a total sale equal to one per cent of the population of the United States in the decade in which they were published. Of the 324 titles listed, the following are by Quaker authors: *God's Protecting Providence* by Jonathan Dickinson (1699), William Penn's *No Cross No Crown* (Boston 1741 edition), *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* by John Dickinson (1768), *Poems* of John G. Whittier (1849), *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* by Hannah Whitall Smith (1883), and Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1890). Other Quaker books which were popular but which did not sell quite enough copies to be listed as best sellers were *Davideis* by Thomas Ellwood (1751), and William Penn's *Fruits of a Father's Love* (1727) and *A Brief Account of the People Called Quakers* (1770). Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* (1797) was a best seller among the textbooks. Also on the best seller list were the following novels in which Quakers appeared as characters: *Nick of the Woods* by Robert Montgomery Bird (1837), Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851), *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe (1852), *John Halifax, Gentleman* by Dinah Maria Mulock (1856), and Paul Leicester Ford's *Janice Meredith* (1899).

GEORGE CROGHAN'S well-known dislike of the Quakers who intervened in his negotiations with the Indians during the French and Indian War shows up briefly again in his *Journal* for 1759-1763, edited by Nicholas B. Wainwright in the October, 1947, number of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (LXXI, 303-444, see especially pp. 427-428). The editor's introductory remarks, saying that at the earlier treaty of Easton, in 1758, "the ubiquitous Quaker, Israel Pemberton, was more exasperating than usual" (p. 306), also indicate how widely current among modern students of this period is the anti-Pemberton, anti-Quaker point of view. If the Friends were as bad as they have recently been painted, they deserve no defense, but we feel with Frederick B. Tolles (see this BULLETIN, Vol. 36, no. 1, Spring, 1947, pp. 7-9) that Pennsylvania's Indian relations in the mid-eighteenth century need a thorough re-study by someone who is at least sympathetic with Quaker peace principles. Scientific, impartial history seems to break down when such a fundamental matter of religious and social philosophy as pacifism is involved. Quakers may be psychologically incapable of seeing the period of the French and Indian War with unbiased eyes, but so too perhaps are historians who approach history as sincere believers in the use of military force. A Quaker history of this period might at least give us a counterweight to the military bias of most of the recent accounts from other pens.